Research Note

Key Seventeenth–century Quaker Lexis

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Abstract

This article explores certain key Quaker terms used by George Fox and compares them with how other early Friends used them. It seeks to answer questions about the variety of lexical preference and usage within the Quaker movement and examines Fox's possible leadership influence in this area. The selection of items under scrutiny is based on two glossaries published to help the general reader understand early modern English or the distinctive Quaker usage of that language. The quantitative analysis has been carried out by using simple tools and techniques available within the discipline of corpus linguistics. The 20 items are grouped into those words or phrases that Fox uses more often than other early Quakers, those words or phrases that other Quakers used more, and a few items that show similar frequency or usage but which reveal new insights because of the innovative approach to the research.

Keywords

Corpus linguistics, early Quaker, George Fox, lexis, style

Introduction

There has been much study over the years of George Fox's message and mission, and how he and a group of like-minded individuals of the mid-seventeenth century came together in what we now recognise as the Quaker movement. Fox's leadership role is seen as crucial, although it is probably not as clear–cut as the historical documents would lead us to believe. This article looks at one aspect of Fox's message—the language he used to express his message and his activities. Seventeenth-century Quaker language has always interested people,

right from the start, including Friends themselves. In a number of pamphlets Friends, including Fox, commented on their distinctive use of 'plain language', for instance. Many conceptual terms and phrases are used in Quakerism to this day. In this article I drill deep into a wide collection of texts by investigating some key lexical concepts and expressions used by Fox and also by his fellow Quakers. This is not the first time that his language has been studied but it is the first attempt to analyse which usages came from him as an individual and which were used in a similar way by all those who were preaching and publishing alongside him.

The article presents a descriptive account of aspects of early Quaker lexical usage, using quantitative findings derived from simple corpus linguistics techniques. (These techniques are explained in the appendix.) The questions the paper aims to address are these. Which key Quaker concepts and usage that we often now think of as central were distinctively Fox's and which were more widely used by everyone in the movement? Where there is similarity, were Friends imitating Fox or was there something more profound in Quakerism that necessitated this unity of style? Where there are differences, what can this tell us about Fox's leadership role and how much his style dominated Quaker expression, then and now?

My interest stems from the impression often given to the non-specialist reader interested in early Quakerism that Fox's mission and language is synonymous with early Friends in general. I exclude the 'plain language' mentioned above and commonly associated with early Quaker speechways (*thou/you*, avoidance of titles, preference for numerical descriptions of days of the week and of months, and so on). Instead, I draw on my doctoral work (Roads 2015), which in part examined certain words and phrases used relatively frequently by many Friends in their published writings. I describe the method used for my findings below in this introduction.

Many Quaker pamphlets and books are exhortatory in purpose and the writers require more persuasive language for their rhetorical communicative aim. My findings are presented in both descriptive and analytical terms; readers are invited to browse through the lexical items under scrutiny and follow their own interests. I offer comparisons with results from a digital, fully searchable corpus comprising George Fox's *Journal* and three other lengthy texts it is believed were authored by him. The *Qcorpus* aims to be representative of many of the publications from Quakers of all walks of life and experience written between 1650 and 1670. The *Fox Corpus*, on the other hand, is not representative in that sense. There are several editions of the *Journal*, which we know was dictated by Fox. For the purposes of this article I am using the 1903 edition by Rufus Jones. The other texts have Fox as author on the title page, but as a linguist I cannot be confident that these are not co-authored in some way, or had not received major editing by others prior to publication. The *Qcorpus*, however, can provide some general comparisons to lexical words and phrases said to be favoured by Fox, and for guidance on selection of items for analysis I am drawing on two glossaries prepared by Alexander (1983) and by Ambler (2007). These comprise certain Foxian words or phrases, as well

as some that may be hard to understand for the general reader who is not versed in early modern English.

Alexander (1983) and Ambler (2007) both set out to explain or define particular elements of George Fox's language use. Alexander offers a workshop-based commentary on certain words and phrases he feels are 'favourites' of Fox (the booklet is a teaching guide to be used in conjunction with the Rufus Jones edition of Fox's *Journal*), and Ambler provides a specific glossary explaining some Quaker terminology, mostly from a theological standpoint. It is possible that either other contemporary Quaker authors imitated Fox's lexicon or that the style grew in a consciously studied way in the Quaker community, although this would be hard to prove. My article sets out to ask and then answer several questions raised by the two datasets, contrasting the small collection of Fox material and the wider selection of many other Quaker writers.[1]

Quantitative Results from the *Qcorpus/Fox Corpus* Comparisons

Figure 1 shows findings from corpus-based queries on a selection of terms that either Ambler or Alexander (1983) (sometimes both) included in their glossaries. The two datasets derive from the *Qcorpus* and from the *Fox Corpus* prepared for this investigation. The items are arranged alphabetically from left to right. Both sets of figures have been normalised per 10,000 words. This procedure enables comparisons of findings in different corpus sizes to be compared in the same way. Of course, both the raw figures and the normalised equivalents are approximate— adding or subtracting other texts would probably make only small changes to the outputs. Linguistics is not an exact science. The items shown in each case are the 'lemmas', or headwords. Derived word-forms are included where shown (for example, plurals or verb endings).

The reassuring aspect of the findings is the number of items where results are similar. This shows me that most early Quakers spoke and wrote in a similar style and using a vocabulary that the Quaker community as a whole was familiar with; see Roads (2012; 2015) for evidence of a distinctiveness of style compared to contemporary non-Quakers. I have divided the 20 items for examination into these groupings, and this is the basis of the structure of my article. Figure 2 presents a summary of the categories. Category 1 comprises those items indicating Foxian preferences over and above those of his Quaker contemporaries as represented by the *Qcorpus*. Category 2 lists items that he uses relatively less frequently or in different ways from other Quaker writers. Items that show similar frequencies or

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1 Please note that the article uses a few formatting conventions; this is necessary in any text that deals with details of language in order to be clear which are the items under discussion. All example words and phrases are in italics: for example, *condition*. A headword or 'lemma' is shown in small capitals: for example, PEACE. A phrase containing several words is underlined, indicating one unit of lexis: for example, <u>*day of the Lord*</u>.
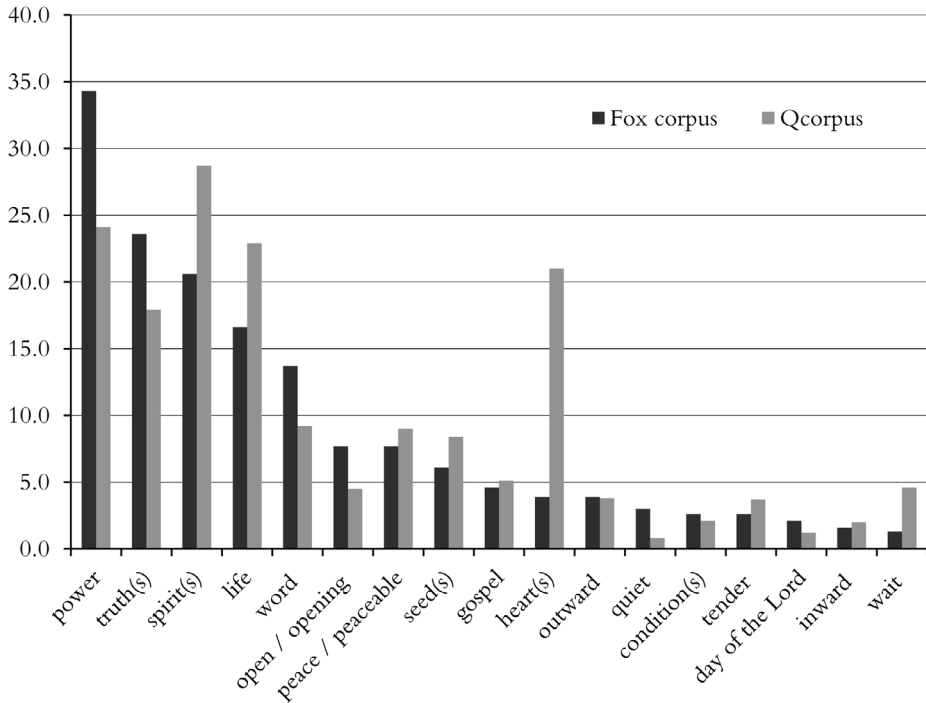
Fig. 1. Comparison of occurrence of 17 key Quaker lexical items found in
Fox and other Quaker writings

usage I label as Category 3. It should be borne in mind that we are comparing
evidence from one single writer (Fox) with 'smoothed' scores from a whole group
of writers. Inevitably the idiosyncrasies of the one will stand out.

Category 1 (higher frequencies in Fox)	Category 2 (higher frequencies in *Qcorpus*)	Category 3 (similar frequencies)
OPEN	HEART	CHURCH
POWER	LIFE	CONDITION
QUIET	LIGHT	DAY OF THE LORD
TRUTH	WAIT	GOSPEL
WORD	SEED	INWARD/OUTWARD
	SPIRIT	PEACE
		STILL
		TENDER

Fig. 2. Summary of lexis grouped into categories

Category 1: Items Showing Higher Frequencies in the *Fox Corpus*

The five lexical items OPEN, POWER, TRUTH, WORD, QUIET have all been noted by Alexander as strong preferences of Fox's style. Ambler only includes OPEN, POWER and TRUTH as needing a commentary.

OPEN

First, OPEN. The instances counted in Fig. 3 include only spiritual senses. Ambler describes the Quaker/Fox sense as meaning 'to make clear, to be understood' and this is helpful. Figure 4 shows selected concordance lines showing the search term OPEN (all derived forms have been obtained). There are other metaphorical uses, some of them biblical, but the distinctive Fox preference is the one highlighted in Fig. 3. (These lines are produced via a simple tool available within specialised corpus analysis software. An explanation is given in the Appendix.)

N	Concordance
1	house not being large enough to contain the people. A **great openness** there was; the sound of Truth spread abroad, and
2	see these things, and see Him to lead them out of them. **I opened** also to them the types, figures, and shadows of Christ
3	, and declared the truth to the priest and people, **laying open** before them the deceit they lived in, and directing them to
4	in that Spirit by which they were given forth; and what the **Lord opened** in me I afterwards found was agreeable to them. I could
5	though they made a profession of Christ. This I saw in the **pure openings** of the Light without the help of any man; neither did I
6	of them came afterwards to be convinced, for they had **some openings.** But as I had forsaken the priests, so I left the
7	, then you shall see the promise of God fulfilled in you, **springs opened,** and refreshment daily coming in from the Lord, and
8	of the Almighty, they may receive the Word of wisdom **that opens** all things, and come to know the hidden unity in the
9	them. This James Milner and some of his company had **true openings** at the first; but getting up into pride and exaltation of
10	." So I spake to his condition, and his understanding **was opened.** I told him that that which showed him his sins, and

Fig. 3. Showing selected concordance lines in the *Fox Corpus* for OPEN

N	Concordance
1	we are reduced into the flock of Christ, by Christ, our eyes **are opened,** and now we see that we profited nothing by them, but
2	fit for it, the time of refreshment being come, he will **assuredly open** the well-springs of Life in thee, and fill full thy Cup with
3	world) when the book of every of your consciences shall **be opened,** and an eye then will be opened in you which the God
4	not had their mouths shut, but by the Lord God have **been opened** to declare unto you their message from the Lord, that
5	for now are the Springs and Fountains of the great deep **broke open** unto the children of men, and the great day of God and
6	corrupt ground, that notwithstanding you may have had **great openings** of the light, whereby you were richly furnished to
7	his voice, and they follow him; the Lord in his infinite love **hath opened** my understanding, that now I know a Minister of the
8	Power and Zeal, and so wants the true Discerning, and **the Openings,** and the Revelations, Visions and Prophesies, and

Fig. 4. Showing selected concordance lines in the *Qcorpus* for OPEN

The *Qcorpus* contains only two occurrences of *openings* as a plural noun in the Foxian usage—one by Thomas Zachary (1660) and the other by George Rofe (1661). Quaker writers were certainly expressing the concept of revelation or divine disclosure, but most writers found other ways to express it. There are 75 spiritually related instances (1.5 per 10,000 words) in the *Qcorpus* compared with 7.7 from the *Fox Corpus*. *Quaker Faith and Practice* 19.2 is partly responsible for

the continuing impression that the term is specifically 'Quaker' when it is more accurate to assign the prevalence of it to Fox.

<div align="center">POWER</div>

The next item, *power*, is noticeably more frequent in the *Fox Corpus* compared with the *Qcorpus*. Fox likes to link ('to collocate') *power* with *power of* usually followed by either: *the Lord*/*God*/*Christ*/ *Satan*. But there are no instances of Fox using the collocate *spirit*. The corpus data show that 35 per cent of occurrences of the word *power* in the *Fox Corpus* are accounted for by the phrase *power of*, but the total instances of the many Quaker writers excluding Fox show a preference of only 15 per cent for *power of* (Fig. 5). This is typically followed by *God/Spirit/ Christ/Satan*.

> (1) But he felt the **power** of the Lord was upon him; and he tumbled off his bed, and cried to the Lord, and said he would never speak more against the Quakers, such as trembled at the word of God. (Fox 1694/1903: Ch. 8)

> (2) When I came in the Lord's mighty **power** with the Word of life into the world, the world swelled and made a noise like the great raging waves of the sea. (Fox 1694/1903: Ch. 2)

Of course, as there is a plurality of authorship there is a greater possibility of a more varied lexical choice. The concordance lines offer, for example, *power of* + *the cross* / *the devil* / *the lamb* /*sin* / *the truth* / *his wrath*, and so on.

	power	power of
Qcorpus	22.7 (1,119)	4.0 (171)
Fox corpus	34.3 (615)	11.8 (213)

<div align="center">Fig. 5. Relative frequencies for power and power of
(normed per 10,000 words, raw scores in brackets)</div>

<div align="center">TRUTH</div>

Another word said to be a favourite with Fox is TRUTH, the 'essence of Fox's message' as Alexander puts it. Ambler provides a fine essay on 'truth' in the same book as his glossary on Fox's language, ranging far wider than the scope of the present article. The only points to note from the corpus evidence is that the term occurs more frequently in Fox than in the generality of early Quaker writings but that all Quakers saw it as a key Quaker concept: 18.0 occurrences per 10,000 words in the *Qcorpus* but 23.6 in the *Fox Corpus*. Interestingly, there appears to be no difference between the uncountable form *truth* (i.e. a generality) and the countable *the truth* (i.e. specific meaning). There appears to be no theological distinction between the two, merely one of grammar or syntax. So the *Qcorpus* offers:

(1) Here you may see him who abides not in the **truth**.

(2) This is the **truth** of the Lord God.

(3) Those pretious **truths** (plural)

(4) But **Truth** springs, and prospers, and spreads.

And Fox has:

(5) The righteous may rejoice in the prosperity of **truth**.

(6) Thus **Truth** was set over all.

(7) After I had declared the **Truth** some time in the meeting.

Both corpora contain a similar proportion of *truth* and <u>*the truth*</u>: namely, 40 per cent in the *Qcorpus* and 43 per cent in the *Fox Corpus* for the countable structure with the definite article. No special meaning should be attached to the spelling of *truth* with either an upper- or lower-case letter 'T'. Fox or his editor, or any of the Quaker writers or printers, may have used either without particular forethought. Such niceties of punctuation were not widespread until the eighteenth century and present-day readers are advised not to make such interpretations. We shall return to that misconception for the item SPIRIT in the next section.

WORD

Another item which is found to be more frequent in the *Fox Corpus* than the *Qcorpus* is the item '*word*', in the sense of 'message from God'. Fox is fond of saying <u>*word of life*</u> and also <u>*word of wisdom*</u>. Authors represented in the *Qcorpus* show evidence of a wider range of lexis following the phrase <u>*word of*</u>. In addition to the phrases <u>*word of the Lord*</u> (most frequent) and <u>*word of God*</u>, less frequent collocates with similar senses include *faith*, *power*, *prophesie*, *truth*. It is clear from the corpus evidence that Fox was very intent on his preaching message: that the Lord was speaking through him but that the hearers needed also to listen to that same Word in their own hearts.

> (1) I went up to him in his chamber, and spoke the **Word** of life to him, and was moved to pray by him; and the Lord was entreated, and restored him to health. (Fox 1694/1903: Ch. 4)

QUIET

The item QUIET is the final one in Category 1 (lexical item types favoured more by Fox); see Fig. 6. Alexander believes that Fox uses this term as a contrast when describing previous 'disorderliness', either from priests or from soldiers and officers, or from 'the common people'. It is true that it is an adjective Fox favours, especially in the *Journal*. It can collocate in phrases such as *meek and quiet*; *still and quiet*; *quiet and peaceable*. Quietness is said to be achieved sometimes by '*the Lord's power*'. In fact, the distribution of this word in this context is less than 10 per cent

N   Concordance
1   while this work is doing, what need of Patience **and Quietness** of Spirit is there! what need of Subjection
2   up into his Life, where the Habitation of Peace **and Quietness** is for your Souls, that they cannot reach
3   with me, when he had done. So I stood still **and quiet,** waiting upon the Lord; the Priest he prepared
4   , it was nigh five hours, and they were very still **and quiet,** and very attentive, and delighted (as we did
5   good of all Men, that we may live a Peaceable **and Quiet** Life, in all Godliness and Honesty under the
6   water Baptized people yet to repent? when you **are Quiet** in spirit, is not your Sins brought fresh
7   Pretences; but dear Friends, do you study to **be quiet,** and mind the Lord's Business in your Men
8   them to do what they do, when they had rather **be quiet** with their neighbours, who by these
9   Hire, getting of money, with such Carnal **Delights, quieted** flesh a while, as a Rattle or Pipe doth a
10   up a sure reward for me, and this sometimes **did quiet** me till the Lord uttered his voice in his
11   Enemies be made your Footstool, that so you **may quietly** sit down in Peace and Safety under the
12   them as tears of repentance there would be **some quietnesse** in my spirit, and a calme for sometime,
13   before was her Desire. And we sitting and **standing quietly** by her, our Hearts were broken; and I felt a
14   had to say to the opening of the matter, we **would quietly** leave it to the Consciences of the People to
15   I told you Magistrates then, that unless ye **would quiet** the people which pulled me down while I was

Fig. 6. Showing selected instances of QUIET in the *Qcorpus*

of the 54 found in the *Fox Corpus*, although, to be sure, all of them are in the *Journal*. A similar percentage of tokens of the word *quiet* in this sense is also found in the *Qcorpus*, but more typical are instances that come under the heading of 'spiritual counsel': for example, Simonds:

> (1) But enter in to your owne closets, and let the dore be shut, and be **quiet** and still in your spirits. (Simonds 1656)

This item shares a similar semantic field with SILENT but occurs less frequently. Line 15 is one of the few that illustrates the sense of actively quelling a rowdy crowd. It is not interchangeable with SILENT but has a meaning closer to *peaceful*. This word accords most closely with the stereotype of the calm and restrained Quaker.

Category 2: Items Showing Higher Frequencies in the *Qcorpus*

We move now to some lexical items that are found to be more frequent (normed frequencies found are *Qcorpus* 20.0: *Fox Corpus* 7.5 words per 10,000) across the spectrum of Quaker writings before 1670. A reminder that this category comprises: HEART, LIFE, WAIT, SEED and SPIRIT.

HEART

First, HEART (see Fig. 7). It is not so much the frequency comparisons that are of interest but the varied usages. In the *Qcorpus* there are many instances where the word collocates with a personal pronoun (*your heart(s)*; *thy heart*; *my heart*; *our hearts*). The first two are in the context of the writer attempting to reach the souls

N   Concordance
1   How is my Soul melted into tenderness, and **my Heart** broken within me, in the meltings of the love
2   by you with that faithfulness which once it was, **our hearts** are melted and made sad with the view of
3   , Pride and Wrath, which hath so much filled **thy heart,** that it hath bred, as I may say, an evil
4   Lovers, base Lusts, who have stoln away **your hearts,** and separated you from your God; the Light
5   is the Counsel of God, that convinceth you in **your hearts** and Consciences, that Lying is a sin,

Fig. 7. Showing examples of pers.pron + HEART in the *Qcorpus*

of the addressees, possibly admonishing them. The first person singular instances are found in narrative texts or in attempts to communicate directly with the reader. The phrase *our hearts* occurs mostly when Friends are explaining their theological position. The *Fox Corpus* shows similar occurrences and usage but with much lower frequency, partly because the *Journal* is a narrative of events, not essentially an exhortatory text as many of the *Qcorpus* texts are.

LIFE

Next comes a consideration of the lexical item *life* as used by Fox and by the other Quaker writers, both in a figurative sense and in the literal sense of being bodily alive. The *Qcorpus* data contain many more instances (normed scores of 27.7 words, compared with Fox's 16.6). Fox favours the phrase *word of life* and often links *life* with *eternal* or *endless*. Alexander believes that Fox speaks of life in terms of territory, an underlying figurative place (for example, 'opened the doors of Light and life to me': Fox 1694/1903: Ch. 1) The corpus does not bear that assertion out more generally, although many metaphorical uses abound (see Fig. 8).

N   Concordance
1   chamber, the [steeple-house] bell rang, and it struck **at my life** at the very hearing of it; so I asked the woman of the
2   said unto me, "Thy name is written in the Lamb's **book of life,** which was before the foundation of the world": and as
3   , their Mediator; and come to feed upon Him, the **bread of life** from heaven. Many were turned to the Lord Jesus Christ,
4   Oh the brokenness that was amongst them in the **flowings of life!** so that, in the power and Spirit of the Lord, many
5   can travel as well as I do! "So with my love in the **fountain of life,** in which as ye all abide ye will have refreshment of life,
6   Friends as I had been used to do, yet in the **motion of life** I sent the following lines as an encouraging testimony to
7   up to him, and in it, serving the Lord God in **newness of life;** that all your feet may be guided in the way of peace, and
8   the Fall to God, into his Image, where the Green **Pastures of Life** are known and fed upon. And no man commeth to the
9   of life, in which as ye all abide ye will have **refreshment** of life, that by it we may grow and gather eternal strength to
10   yesterday, Christ Jesus, the Power of God, and the **Seed of Life,** and Word which was in the beginning, so no new thing,
11   dost thou bid people come freely, and take of the **water of life** freely, and yet thou takest three hundred pounds a year
12   , then they were all born of God, and passed from **death to life;** and that none were true believers but such; and, though

Fig. 8. Showing selected examples of Fox's figurative use of *life*

Both datasets include the Quaker expression *(not) in the life* and *out of the life* as a way of expressing the 'spiritual condition of being alive' (or not), as Ambler (161) puts it. It is clearly a concept much favoured by all the early Quaker writers,

Fox included. The *Qcorpus* findings rank this item the fourth most frequent of the selected lexical items presented in this paper (below *light*, *spirit* and *power* respectively.) To quote Gotherson as an example in a wider context than the concordance lines provide, from a text in the *Qcorpus*:

> (1) Now as for all others, let them be in what form of Worship soever, if they be **out of the Life** and Power of Christ, as is before shewed, who are **in the life**, which are onely such that have the seed of God raised in their own particulars, and alwayes obey it in the power thereof. (Gotherson 1660)

SEED

The occurrences of the word SEED, apart from being rather more frequently used in the *Qcorpus* than by Fox, are interesting for the senses and the connotations. Alexander mentions Fox's use as representing the Christ-experience (from Gen. 3: 15). This widens the senses into that of Satan as the 'serpent's seed' (just five occurrences) and Christ as the 'woman's seed'. However, the '*two seeds*' is slightly more frequent in the *Qcorpus* (5 per cent of all tokens of *seed* are in the plural), whereas there is only one instance—too little to be meaningful—in the *Fox Corpus* (0.9 per cent, for comparison). Occurrences in the *Qcorpus* refer more frequently to the agricultural metaphor, a favourite of Christ's. Many early Quakers were close to the country life and the corpus abounds with agricultural/ biblical references. There is very little reference to 'the serpent' or the 'evil-doer' in Fox; most tokens collocate with *righteous/everlasting/immortal pure*. It is for the other Quaker writers to evoke the negative connotations of 'the evil seed'. Some Quakers link the term to themselves as a community, namely the inheritors and rightful descendants of the Christ experience.

> (1) We are resolved in his strength to suffer what he permitteth man to do; and this is the holy resolution of all that is born again, and cannot hide your heads in the time of Persecution, because you are born of the Royal **Seed**, and have overcome the beggerly, cowardly, earthly spirit, thorow the blood of the Lamb, and the word of your testimony. (Dewsbury 1668)

SPIRIT

The data for the item SPIRIT show a higher frequency count for the *Qcorpus* than for the *Fox Corpus*, but both sets of figures show the importance of this concept for all Quaker writers. Of Fox's instances, 10.5 per cent are used in the plural. Analysis indicates three contexts or senses for his 39 occurrences: a) a simple plurality: the *spirit* of several people is under discussion; and plural use equating either b) to 'morale', or c) to *evil spirits* / the *world's spirits* – that is, in contrast with God's spirit. Fox uses the plural form relatively slightly more often than is found in the *Qcorpus* set (10.5 per cent:7 per cent).

> (1) Yet good service we had for the Lord amongst them; for the life of Christianity

and the power of it tormented their chaffy **spirits**, and came over them, so that some were reached and convinced. (Fox 1694/1903: Ch. 10)

The *Qcorpus* data also show several contexts: in the plural the item can signify either 'both good and evil spirits' or 'both holy and human spirits'. The phrase *spirit of* in this corpus collocates mostly with *the Lord/God/truth/life/Christ* but there are also other positive ones, such as *discerning/ faith/grace/holiness/judgment* etc., as well as the very negative, human ones: *Antichrist/ bondage/delusion/envy/ idolatry*. Note, for example, how Penington, in his catechism-like text *Concerning the Worship of the Living God*, talks about the need to discern the true spirit:

(1) Quest. What stains the Conscience?

Answ. Any disobedience to 'od's **Spirit**, any hearkening unto or following the voyce of a strange **spirit**. This lets in the darkness, which defiles; even as the Light cleanses. (Penington 1661)

The *Fox Corpus* has a more restricted set of collocates, mostly *God/the Lord/ truth/life*, with fewer negative ones linked to the singular form of the word.

Alexander makes some odd comments about Fox's usage. He believes that the capitalised form: *Spirit* is 'reserved for the Spirit of God, or Christ, in the human heart' (597) and continues with a contrasting observation about Fox's apparent lower-case use. I believe this variant to be the responsibility of the edition he is using (Rufus Jones 1903) or some other agent. There was little or no prescriptiveness regarding punctuation or spelling at this period of seventeenth-century English and such modern niceties should be regarded as having been inserted later by either a printer or an editor.

WAIT

The principle of Quaker spiritual practice was founded not on liturgy or a structured religious event but upon silent waiting in a meeting, with reliance of all participants on their inward guide. Alexander discusses Fox's use of the phrase *wait on the Lord* and the importance of this piece of spiritual counsel, especially in time of crisis. There are in fact only ten instances of this phrase (most appear as *wait upon*), although the distribution of *wait for* and *wait in [the Light/the fear of God]* are present. The instances in this spiritual sense are more numerous though in the *Qcorpus* (5.7 words vs. 1.3 words per 10,000), indicating that many more of the Quaker writings contain spiritual guidance. This is not to say that Fox did not publish extensively in this vein, but the *Journal* in particular contains relatively little. About three-quarters of all the texts in the *Qcorpus* are exhortatory and of a warning nature. Accompanying the dire warnings are often stretches of advice including this instruction *to wait*—a key element in the Quaker silent tradition. Analysis of the contexts of the various forms of WAIT in the spiritual sense show a variety of usage:

wait in = 'how or where?' (e.g. '*sit still, and low, and wait in silence*')

wait for = 'who or what?' (e.g. '*quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord*')

wait to + verb = 'why?' (e.g. '*oh wait to know such a thing in your hearts*')

wait [up]on = 'wait to serve [as a servant] /to be used' (e.g. '*the onely true God, who waits upon you to be gracious unto you*')

wait = an instruction or advice follows (e.g. '*wait, that ye may become acquainted with [the seed]*')

Category 3: Items with Similar Corpus Frequencies

CONDITION

Sometimes the glossaries refer to connotation or specific contexts that the items appear in Fox's writing (principally the *Journal*). The item CONDITION is cited in the spiritual sense and this is the one present in both corpora (none referring to moral ways or station in life, for example). Some occurrences in the *Qcorpus* refer to a poor inward state. The word was used by Friends in both the singular and the plural; an example of Fox's use is quoted in *Quaker Faith and Practice* (BYM 2013: para 19.3). See also Fox in the *Journal*, speaking of Oliver Cromwell as Protector:

> (1) Some of his life-guard would have put me away; but he forbade them. So I rode by his coach side with him, declaring what the Lord gave me to say to him, of his **condition**, and of the sufferings of Friends in the nation, showing him how contrary this persecution was to the words of Christ and His apostles, and to Christianity. (Fox 1694/1903: Ch. 10)

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the term had fallen out of general use by the mid-seventeenth century. It remains part of the Quaker lexicon to this day, I would argue.

(THE) DAY OF THE LORD

The phrase *day of the Lord* (cf. Joel 2:1, Amos 5:18) occurs with similar frequencies in both sets, collocating in the *Qcorpus* with *mighty/terrible/glorious*, and variations on the string *day of* + noun: *wrath/salvation/vengeance/calamity*. A typically rousing condemnation occurs in Gearle's pamphlet, in which some Friends put some challenging Queries to their local so-called 'spiritual men', meaning priests:

> (1) All ye Priests, Proctors, Deans and Parators, with the rest of the uncircumcised, dismal is the **day** which hastens, and black unto you (who have resisted the light) a **day of** trouble and anguish, a **day of** torment, and perplexity, and of great sorrow shall compasse you. (Josiah Wickham, quoted in Edmund Gearle's 1664 pamphlet *The Three Countrey-mens English Answers*)

Fox has a similar range of fairly extreme adjectives; his collocations include *howling/humiliation/slaughter/everlasting*.

GOSPEL

Ambler feels that Fox failed to understand the meaning of *gospel* as 'message'. It is not apparent that other Friends shared that error, if error it is. For example, here is one of many examples in the *Qcorpus*:

> (1) If Judgment first begin at the house of God, what will become of them that obey not the **Gospel** of God? (Evans 1663)

This seems to imply the 'message' of God. Fox says in chapter 8 of his *Journal*:

> (1) Many Friends about this time were moved to go up and down to sound forth the everlasting **gospel** in most parts of this nation.

but also…

> (1) … so that we can say the **gospel** order established amongst us is not of man, nor by man, but of and by Jesus Christ, in and through the Holy Ghost.

This second use, combined with *order*, seems to be an additional sense initiated by Fox. The term occurs only once in the *Qcorpus*, where Edmund Gearle in 1664 is complaining about paying tithes under some 'gospel order' he does not subscribe to.

INWARD/OUTWARD

The scores for INWARD and OUTWARD, though similar in quantitative terms, also reveal that both datasets have a similar ratio of occurrences. The *Qcorpus* has raw scores of 101 (*inward*) vs. 190 (*outward*): that is, a ratio of *c.*34 per cent:66 per cent. This compares with the *Fox Corpus*, with 30 (*inward*) vs. 71 (*outward*): that is, a ratio of *c.*30 per cent:70 per cent.

> (1) But undoubtedly a Dinner or Supper in the **outward** will not raise up the Love of God in the heart; that which sheds it abroad in the heart, that alone can raise up pure Love to the pure God, and this we are acquainted withal. (Bolton 1667–68)

… and William Caton, speaking to young people out of his own experience, as Friends so often still do, says:

> (1) Yet in these dayes when I did well in keeping in the fear of the Lord, then was it well with mee: but when I condescended to evill, & was thereby overcome **inwardly** and **outwardly**, then was my troubles and sorrow great, & my stripes many, & that in the dayes of my youth. (Caton 1661)

The point is that all the first generation of Quakers appear to be discussing (and condemning) the outward in people's lives more than the central Quaker principle of inwardness or 'turning within'. Is this an early example of Quakers describing their faith in terms of what they are against?

<div align="center">PEACE</div>

The lexical items *peace* and *peaceable* are to be expected in discourse concerning Quakerism; however, the concept of 'anti-war' is for the most part not linked to it. The *Qcorpus* examples include <u>hold my peace</u> and <u>justice of the peace</u> as well as biblical references to *peacemakers* and so on. Fox, too, uses these connotations, but, since the *Journal* contains many descriptions of meetings, these are often described as *peaceable*. The related item *still* gives similar scores: 0.7 (*Qcorpus*) and 1.1 (*Fox Corpus*) per 10,000 words. Related verbs for both corpora include *stand*, *sit*, *lie*, *be*, *feel*.

> (1) At Barbadoes Friends are in quietness, and their meetings settled in **peace**. (Fox 1694/1903:Ch. 19, in a letter to his wife)

> (2) Yea, such **peace** as the world knows not of: let come what will come, this man knows it is the will of his Father it shall be so, and he feels a quiet **peace** compass his heart, so that he seeth and feeleth **peace** within, and rejoyceth in the excellencie of it. (Gotherson 1660)

<div align="center">TENDER</div>

The remaining item with similar quantitative scores is *tender*, which appears to have been coined by many early Quakers as a distinctive item in Friends' lexicon. Unlike Alexander, Ambler spots two separate meanings: i) 'bud-like' and ii) 'to give'. The latter mostly occurs in connection with swearing oaths (or refusing to do so), although there are biblical references to God 'tendering'. Other interpretations include 'spiritually open' (Abbott 2010): 'a person … open or eager for truth … like an insect about to emerge from the chrysalis'; (Jones, quoted by Alexander 1983, in Wilbur 1859): 'hearts were open, touched and moved by the power of the spirit of Christ'. The corpus evidence offers greater nuance to the idea of something 'bud-like'. The *Qcorpus* offers *tender babes*, *tender consciences*, *tender-hearted*, *tender love*, *tender plant*. Chapter 18 of Fox's *Journal* contains the sentence:

> (1) The blessed presence of the Lord did greatly refresh us, and often break in upon and **tender** the company.

This sense is very much Fox's own; he uses verb phrases such as *make tender*; *quenched the tender thing in them*. These two contrast the 'tenderising meat' sense with the 'delicate bud' sense. A powerful and poetic Quaker term.

Concluding Remarks

The findings in this article offer a descriptive comparison between some published writings by Fox (albeit some of which are heavily edited by others) and a wide spectrum of material by many other seventeenth-century Quakers. However, we can draw out several points of interest from the results.

The notable aspects of Fox's lexical preferences arise from the contexts in which they are found. For example, the word *openings* seems to be one that he reaches for

in his articulation of his insights from God. The current BYM edition of *Quaker Faith & Practice* is partly responsible for a misleading impression that this was a word used by many early Quakers when it appears merely to be characteristic of Fox. His use of *word (of the Lord)* is another preferred phrase, as is *power*—all expressing his sense of being led or pushed by the Spirit.

It is surprising that the items *life*, *light*, *seed* and *spirit* occur more frequently in the *Qcorpus*. I believe this is explained by the types of rhetorical discourse in the corpora. The Fox material is largely narrative, whereas approximately three-quarters of the *Qcorpus* writings are exhortatory; however, more research using a larger corpus of Fox material would give us a clearer idea of whether my surmise from these figures is reliable.

The main items showing similar distribution across the datasets are *condition*, *day of* + noun and *tender*. The ratios of *outward* to *inward* are remarkably similar too.

Finally, in answer to one of my original questions, I believe we cannot be sure to what extent other Quaker writers were imitating Fox's style and language. I suspect that this was indeed partly the case. On the other hand, the very nature of Quakerism required a vocabulary that was likely to occur to all early Friends struggling to describe spiritual experiences that pushed language to the limit and beyond—the 'silent' tradition, no less.

Appendix
What is an Electronic Corpus?

The simple answer is: a text or collection of texts (written or spoken) that are in a format suitable for corpus-based analysis using specific software or online tools. Frequency or concordance output can be derived from automatic retrieval using search queries. Questions about the corpus design have to be considered first by the researcher, especially if it is hoped to generalise from the scaling-up of results.

In the case of the *Qcorpus*, the texts were chosen to provide—as far as is possible with historical data—a representative body of randomly collected texts. As some of the texts were just a few hundred words in total (usually broadside text types), I decided to limit the word count of the book-length texts by including only extracts. This minimise any swamping of the data by a single long book. The experimental investigations began without prior knowledge of the textual content or the discourse purposes. A useful metaphor for this approach is a fishing net dipped into a river. We inspect what is brought to the surface, testing the robustness of the raw data retrieved. A final comment about the authors of the *Qcorpus*: my initial aim was to investigate as far as possible the lesser known or frankly obscure writers, rather than the leading Quaker writers of that early period. My interest has been in Quaker writers 'from below', many of whom did not have high levels of education, especially the women. More information on these aspects is found in Roads (2015).

N	Concordance
1	second. Therefore I say again, That all **Laws**, Statutes, Customs, Usages, or
2	have so deeply suffered by; Namely any **law** for payment of Tythes, or any law to
3	Lord over them, suing and contending at **Law** with his Parishioners; but the day
4	your power from supporting, and by **Laws** upholding these false Prophets,
5	that to those laws ; yet the new **Covenant law** (or new Testament Gospel law) under
6	thing be revealed, so according to **Gods law** no man is punishable, for speaking in
7	of the Execution of your new invented **Law** against us, which you are hastening
8	spirituals, and man in temporals ; mans **Law** being without us for the outward man,
9	, and not so much as Queen Maries **Law** broken by me; by which Law so
10	head, as also to throw down Moses **Law** ; and became the substance of his
11	estates spoyled by these oppressive **Laws** which thou promised to take away
12	Laws; for we believe that the outward **Law** and Powers of the earth is onely to
13	to get their Wages of Tythes by a popish **Law,** contrary to such as were the priests
14	that professeth and obeyeth that Royal **Law** or Precept of Christ, Do as thou
15	let it be proved by what divine or spiritual **Law** of God or Christ they were admitted
16	Judges to delay relieving Prisoners by the **Law** till they dye, is also Manslaughter;
17	be fulfilled; see if they will not go to **Law** with you ? and if they doe, you shall
18	under, and oppressed, by the unrighteous **Laws** and Injunctions and Impositions ,
19	thy forefathers did, and the same usurped **Lawe** over mens Consciences , and the

Fig. 9. Showing selected examples of LAW in the Qcorpus

N	Concordance	Set
1	: Have you brought any **Lambs** to Christs Fold? Have ye brought	F
2	. They are very confident, who kill Christs **Lambs,** to do God service, that those	F
3	never be removed into a corner : So dear **Lambes** learn of him, who careth for you,	F
4	good and perfect gift comes. And dear **Lambs,** although some of you be, in your	F
5	in his nostrils, but fear the Lord ye dear **lambs** and babes of the heavenly father,	F
6	the sad sufferings of so many harmless **Lambes** when they were on their sick	F
7	in Israel. Dear blessed precious **Lambs** and Babes, ye children of the	F
8	into John Cranwells land, and took 4 **Lambs** without leave, and sent his men	L
9	money? Did they ever Sue any man for **Lambs,** Piggs, Hens, or Geese? Did they	L
10	and an halfe of Hops. Twenty and one **Lambs.** Three Sheep. Five calves. Thirty	L
11	be sworn; then they did ask them what **Lambs** and sheep John Cranwell had that	L
12	being but Vicar, having the tithe of wooll, **lambs,** calves, apples, plumbs, &c.) unto	L

Fig. 10. Showing selected examples of LAMB, coded in the SET column by sense
category where F = figurative, L = literal

Concordances derived from all instances of a lexical item or phrase can reveal patterns of use that might not be observable simply by reading printed texts. By searching on a keyword or phrase it is possible to produce a list of all occurrences of that item, with a small amount of co-text, normally a certain number of words or characters either side of the central item. Variant spellings can be accommodated. Once the lines are visible, the researcher can sort to the first or second word to the left or right, for example, thus uncovering patterns of natural language in use that may not be apparent in a manual reading of a text. For example, Fig. 9 shows a selection of instances of the item *law(s)*, sorted alphabetically by the first word to the left, while in the example shown in Fig. 10 I have made use of the SET column to the right. There I have created different categories for the senses found for *lamb(s)* (coded L for the literal sense of animal and F for 'figurative'). In this way, the lines can be sorted by various criteria and different patterns become apparent.

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